THE NEW REPUBLIC

O dear God, O dear All

MacKinlay Kantor's New Novel

Stanley Kauffmann

Whistling While We Work

Gerald W. Johnson

The Widening Horizon

Edward Hallet Carr

Disunion in Moscow

The Editors

October 30, 1961, 25 ce

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T.R.B. from Washington

Nobody But Kennedy

★ Every now and then in life you have to choose between the ideal and the real. World affairs now seem particularly studded with such unhappy choices. They are all painful, they all draw blood. Yet they are too big to duck. One difficulty is simply the layman's lack of knowledge: Some foreign astronomers denounce our bizarre Midas shot, liberating a zone of copper hairs round the world in a radio relay test; our scientists say it's all right. So should the editorial writer praise or denounce it? Until the debate has gone further this writer doesn't know.

There are bigger questions. It seems to us that Kennedy took office with a genuine desire to reach better understanding with Moscow and a belief that he could do it when Eisenhower couldn't. Then events showed Khrushchev doesn't really want to relax tension. His meeting with Kennedy at Vienna underlined this. Khrushchev is trying to dilute the UN; he is trying to detach West Germany; he is brutally cynical about resumption of nuclear tests, with the climax on October 23 of what he claims as a 50 megaton bomb. The Belgrade neutrals' conference showed that so-called "world opinion" isn't, alas, what we hoped and that many neutrals intend to apply a double standard.

So what does the US do? If Moscow insists on periodic testing in the atmosphere we face the terribly hard choice of whether or not to test, too. We agree with Adlai Stevenson that as a matter of mere survival we cannot allow the sole right of periodic testing.

Take another example. In the Presidential campaign Kennedy attacked the folly of war over Quemoy and Matsu and indicated that, if elected, he might thaw out our frozen Red China policy. On the contrary, however, he has just reaffirmed the old orthodox Dulles dogma about not letting Peking into the UN. His position is not any better, so far as we can see, than Eisenhower's before him. This saves Kennedy politically perhaps, for the time being. But America's position over the long run is untenable and sooner or later the public must realize this, and there is nobody but Kennedy to tell them so. Only a tough President can be a great President and only a President who is tough will spend some of his popularity to tell the nation the unpleasant truths. What we see ahead is Peking's inevitable entrance into the UN over US protest, a loss of US prestige, and then a great drive by US isolationists to leave the UN. It would be wiser to come out of our dream now.

As against this, Kennedy is taking the calculated risk of giving some aid to bumptious Cheddi Jagan, Marxist premier of British Guiana. We wish fellow journalists would stop asking Jagan every minute if he is a Communist, but we suppose they won't. We have always suspected that Cuba's Castro might have been saved by a different approach (though God knows, he was a thorn under the thumb, too!). Anyway, the Administration has shown some courage in the Jagan test.

Negotiate What?

★ Toughest choice is Berlin. Idealists cry they oppose "any nuclear war for Berlin," or declare, "We should negotiate over Berlin!" Of course we should negotiate over Berlin – but negotiate what? If we go to war over Berlin it will not be because of the city alone but in order to keep the Western Alliance in being in our own self-interest. If we negotiate, it will be to preserve that purpose.

Khrushchev is trying to split West Germany from NATO. While such defection seems preposterous, wise men have to remember history. In 1922 the horrified victors of World War I suddenly discovered that the seemingly helpless Germany had signed a treaty with pariah Russia at Rapallo. And a second time it happened: even as France and Germany negotiated in Moscow for an anti-Hitler pact in August, 1939, the Soviets treacherously signed a non-intervention agreement with Ribbentrop. And Hitler struck Poland eight days later.

These are grim matters, as Washington talks them over, but the present world is grim too, and not a comfortable place for idealists who are out of step with reality. Certain concessions must be made in an alliance; the question is: How much? For the moment, fortunately, tension over Berlin is less acute, but it is no time to relax. President de Gaulle will escape civil war only by a miracle – and then there is always Viet Nam.

Happy Ending

★ As an example of moral issues we give you South Viet Nam as presented on NBC's Huntley-Brinkley 15-minute news show last week. South Viet Nam is our ally. For the past six months picked Viet Namese troops have been receiving instruction from nine American soldiers. As Chet Huntley's voice went along as background several million TV observers watched a film clip of South Viet Namese soldiers – our side – receiving information from prisoners.

"Viet Namese on both sides use electric shocks," Huntley's voice quietly observed, "from telephone generators to jolt information from unwilling prisoners." As he spoke the film showed a prisoner bounce out of his chair with the shock; then it was repeated. In the background of the torture chamber a shrouded figure with a sheet over it hung from the ceiling. Huntley quietly proceeded, "Enemy spies regardless of age or sex are strung from rafters until they talk."

The figure shown on the silver screen was shrouded, presumably to hide the distorted face. "This woman," Huntley proceeded matter-of-factly, "whose activities had cost the lives of others, finally talked." The shrouded figure was lowered as he continued, "The information sent the Viet Namese soldiers and their American advisers through rice fields and woods where they routed the Red Viet Cong guerrillas from an underground strongpoint."

So it all had a happy ending! And so far as we know there has been no discussion, let alone protest, about a film that raises so many questions.

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Disunion in Moscow

For the second time in five years a Communist Party Congress in Moscow has startled Western observers. In his secret speech of February, 1956, Khrushchev shocked not only the West but his own rank-and-file by denouncing Stalin. Now at the 22nd Congress Khrushchev has amazed outsiders – and perhaps insiders – by airing more of the Party's dirty linen. The long-cherished appearance of international solidarity has been abandoned, and the kind of dissension within an alliance to which the NATO powers have become accustomed is being openly admitted on the other side of the Iron Curtain.

Albania itself is not the crux of the controversy. This miniscule, backward and isolated Balkan country is, however, the focus of a larger struggle over "revisionism" which began with Tito's 1948 break with Stalin. Ever since Yugoslavia was created as a federation of Balkan peoples by the Treaty of Versailles, its leaders have cast covetous glances at neighboring Albania. Stalin stood in the way of these ambitions, and Stalinism has ever since seemed to the Albanian Communists their best guarantee of survival. When Khrushchev repudiated Stalinism and tried to patch things up with Yugoslavia, Enver Hoxha and other Albanian leaders reacted violently. Attempts were made to reassure them when they visited Moscow in 1957, again when Khrushchev visited Tirana in 1959, and still again when they attended the Party conference in Moscow last year. But they would not be reassured, and last year after the Party conference Albania was attacked publicly for the first time – by East Germany's boss, Ulbricht, in *Neues Deutschland*. Relations were not improved by the 1960 Albanian purge, which seems to have decimated the pro-Khrushchev forces; and this summer Russia cancelled wheat deliveries to Tirana and pulled its submarines out of their Adriatic base.

Still, why – with a Berlin crisis and aggravating domestic economic problems on his hands – did Khrushchev choose now to advertise a row with tiny Albania? The answer may be that he had very little choice. Albania has chosen, like Yugoslavia before it, to defy Moscow. Its sin is perhaps not Stalinism but secessionism, and China's support for Albania may arise primarily from China's interest in creating an atmosphere in which her own periodic conflicts with Moscow will not lead to vitriolic denunciations of "dogmatism." This interpretation is, however, only partially satisfying. For by publicizing the split Khrushchev has, after all, put the thought of successful defiance into

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a lot more heads. Why? There is a hint in the place which the attack on Albania occupies in Khrushchev's report. Instead of being where one might expect to find it – in the section dealing with World Communism and the socialist camp – where one finds a comparatively brief attack on Tito's "revisionism" – the Albanian heresy is discussed in the section dealing with internal problems of the Soviet Party and follows immediately upon Khrushchev's bitter attack on the "anti-Party" group of Molotov, Kaganovich, Malenkov, etc. Khrushchev accuses the anti-Party group of the very same sin he ascribes to the Albanian leadership – trying to force the Party back to the errors of the period of "personality cult." Taken at its face, this is a fantastic statement. One gets a delightful picture of an insignificant Albanian dictator threatening to force the Soviet giant, against its will, back onto the paths of Stalinism.

If one were, however, to substitute for the phrase "the Albanian leaders" something else – namely "the Chinese leaders, other dogmatists in the world Communist movement and Stalinist elements still left in the Soviet Union" – then the Khrushchev phrase would make better sense. Like Stalin, Khrushchev presumably fears intensely any combination of opponents inside the Soviet Party with opponents outside Russia in the Communist movement. He has chosen to mount a twin offensive against those within and without who are discontented with the present Soviet line or leadership. There is thus foreshadowed a reactivization of cases against such internal "threats" as Malenkov and Kaganovich, described at the Congress as unfit to be in the Party. And at the same time, there is more than a suggestion that the issue of Russian leadership will be forced while China has too many worries at home to resist successfully.

Khrushchev can hardly expect a permanent victory over the Chinese and their North Korean and Viet Minh camp followers, but if he can carry the field this year he may hope to consolidate his power in the USSR, and return to the next Party Congress with fewer domestic Stalinists at his heels, prepared to take an even harder line with his adversaries abroad. Having just fired half the Party secretaries in Russia, he no doubt wants their successors to realize the connection between their promotion and the struggle with Albanian-Chinese unorthodoxy.

Whatever the short-term outcome of the battle, neither the Russians nor the Chinese can be expected to emerge completely victorious in the long run. The Chinese will not have a famine permanently and will eventually be able to challenge the Soviet claim to authority over the world Communist movement. Centrifugal forces within the camp are likely to grow stronger, no matter how hard the Russian leaders try to contain them. On the other hand, there is little hope of restoring that outward unanimity and absence of fraternal backbiting which the Chinese so treasure, for Khrushchev can now ill afford to recant or to smooth things over with either Hoxha or the "anti-Party" elements.

What significance have these events for the West? Since 1948 the Communist movement has been split in two – with "revisionist" Yugoslavia on one side and all the other parties on the other. Is it now to be split three ways with a large Khrushchev-led camp opposed to a Peking-Tirana "dogmatist-Stalinist" axis to which clusters of parties in some of the newer and underdeveloped nations would adhere?

It used to be that the world Communist movement could hold out to war-weary people the promise of world unity and world peace through world revolution and world dictatorship "of the proletariat." Up to the end of World War II when there was only one center of world Communism – Moscow – this dream could still seem plausible and, to many, attractive. In the Comintern Program of 1928 – the last major Soviet-sponsored document of the movement until the new Soviet Communist Party Program of 1960 – there was promised "a World Union of Soviet Socialist Republics uniting the whole of mankind under the hegemony of the international proletariat organized as a State." The Party Program being adopted this week in Moscow omits this promise of a World Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. And well it might. For what is left of "monolithic" world union if a two-bit Albanian Communist dictator can defy Moscow and be cheered on by China?

Borrioboola-Gha

Like Mrs. Jellyby, in *Bleak House*, Margery Michelmore wished "to educate the natives of Borrioboola-Gha." She graduated from Smith College, joined the Peace Corps, attended a training program at Harvard University, and went off to University College of Ibadan, Nigeria. After further study at Ibadan, Miss Michelmore and her 36 American colleagues were to be sent to teach in various Nigerian secondary schools.

Miss Michelmore, now 23, pondered her new life and scribbled a postcard (intercepted, it seems) to a casual acquaintance she had met at Harvard. Mrs. Jellyby would not have been surprised at what Miss Michelmore found, though she might have had more trouble getting it all on a single postcard:

"I wanted you to see the incredible and fascinating city we were in. With all the training we had had we were really not prepared for the squalor and absolutely primitive living conditions rampant both in the cities and the bush. We had had no idea what 'underdeveloped' means. It really is a revelation and once we got over the initial, horrified shock, it is a very rewarding experience. Everyone except us lives in the streets,

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cooks in the streets, and even goes to the bathroom in the streets. . . .

"The University is great fun and it is something to be a foreign student anyway and especially to be the only white student in an all-African university. I just hope they do not repeat last year's Lumumba riots. . . ."

But they did riot. About 150 students, waving copies of Miss Michelmore's postcard, demonstrated against the Peace Corps in Ibadan. Miss Michelmore was brought home. Yet her postcard is a fairly accurate statement of the facts of Nigerian urban life. Ibadan is a teeming, all-African city of scrap-iron roofed shanties. Conditions are, in our eyes, primitive. Her interpretation was not of scorn, but simply "no one told us it was so bad."

Need the Administration panic? Indoctrination exercises for future Peace Corps contingents need not necessarily be intensified, and prospective candidates need not be screened more diligently for "inner instabilities." A simple five-minute lecture on the folly of writing critical postcards should suffice. Of course, Peace Corps volunteers should be more circumspect, but discreet behavior will not prevent criticism; for it is the image of the Corps itself which angers Africans.

Students and politicians in Africa have eagerly awaited a chance to exploit the first American false step. At a lecture last summer in Dar-es-Salaam, the sweltering Indian Ocean capital of Tanganyika, an American Peace Corps representative put his case to an audience of students and politicians. With careful and polished aplomb he told how President Kennedy had enunciated the idea and how, like Topsy, it grew. His audience became restless.

He was astonished by their questions: "Why does America send us the Peace Corps?" "Why does she do it for free?" "What does she want from us?" And with great suspicion the audience concluded: "She must be getting something out of it – trading rights? mineral exploitation opportunities? economic stranglehold?"

The Educated Soldier

Military officers have always been concerned with their men's morale, for when morale sags recruits may be reluctant either to kill their enemies or to lay down their own lives. Impassioned speeches of the "For Harry, England and St. George" variety go back to time immemorial, and to the best of our knowledge such speeches have never been subject to censorship. They have been judged by their ability to arouse men's passion, and for this they needed the enthusiasm and sincerity of the moment, not accuracy or logic.

During the Korean War, however, morale assumed another dimension. War with the Chinese was fought

"He Does Seem To Be Out of Uniform – or Something"

not only on the battlefield but in the prison camp. Appalled by the willingness of so many Americans to collaborate with their captors, and by the failure of more than a handful to attempt even harrassment of their guards, much less escape, the Pentagon sought for new training devices.

Just why the military brass decided that lectures on freedom and democracy (originally developed during World War II) would keep soldiers from informing on their buddies has never been clear. Perhaps they were impressed by the fact that relatively few Chinese collaborated with American captors, and deduced that this steadfastness was due to constant barrages of Marxist propaganda.

But whatever the impact of propaganda on Chinese recruits – and there is no evidence one way or the other on the subject so far as we can find – American soldiers are almost unanimous in agreeing that the once-a-week lecture on the Declaration of Independence or even The Red Menace runs lightly off the back of cynical young men schooled since childhood to tune themselves off when hucksters begin their spiel. Many officers sense this, and for the most part information programs are merely dumped on the newest lieutenant, as a pointless chore to be performed solely because it is specified in regulations. General Walker was something of an oddity – he took his indoctrination program seriously. More apathetic generals delegate political

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education to less apathetic captains and lieutenants.

These men can, of course, be kept in line by strict directives from the Pentagon which restrict the choice of reading matter, films and lecture topics. But such bureaucratization of instruction has its demerits. For most GI's what counts is not any abstract line of political argument, whether progressive or reactionary, but exposure to an officer who believes what he is saying. If officers are merely sounding boards for superiors, they do little but bore the troops.

Considering the futility of requiring millions of men to listen every year to ideological lectures by men who have no training to discuss the subject in hand, perhaps the Pentagon ought to take its cue from the Marines, abolishing the present indoctrination program and concentrating on social and psychological pressure to maintain morale. Marine officers maintain that a fighting man needs not an intellectual commitment to The American Way of Life, but a personal identification with his military unit. The demanding basic training of the Marines seems to create such a loyalty to the Corps among its alumni – though at an obvious price. Korean POW records suggest that loyalty bought with this kind of hard currency is more durable than the ideological variety which the other Forces are fostering.

Eisenhower Recollects

Was the State Department historian correct when he wrote the following in a Department pamphlet entitled "Background Berlin – 1961"?

"The Western Armies could have captured Berlin, or at least joined in capturing it. But the Supreme Allied Commander, General Eisenhower, believed that they could be more usefully employed against the major German forces elsewhere. As a result the Soviets captured Berlin."

Last month from his Gettysburg farm General Eisenhower indignantly denied it: "We were soldiers, not politicoes. And to say that this was a military decision is a rewriting of history."

But before the Association of the Bar of the City of New York on March 3, 1949, General Eisenhower's recollection was somewhat different:

Question: General, the general feeling is that if our army had marched into Berlin and if General Patton's army had occupied Prague, the picture in the postwar period might have been different.

May I ask you whether, in your opinion, had our political leaders taken for granted at face value the declarations of Joseph Stalin and the others of what their ultimate objectives in the world were, might they not have been restrained from interfering with you in going through your regular military procedure of taking as much as our armies might take, and if it had not been interfered with, don't you think the postwar picture might have been different?

General Eisenhower: I must, sir, make one thing clear: Your question seems to imply that the decision not to march into Berlin was a political decision. On the contrary, there is only one person in the world responsible for that decision. That was I. There was no one who interfered with me in the slightest way. Until the day I die, there is one thing that I will testify to in favor of or on the side of Mr. Roosevelt's skill in handling a country at war. When he put his men into the field, he did not interfere with them as long as he left them there.

U Thant of Burma

If he does not lose patience with the haggling over terms of his employment and withdraw his candidacy, U Thant of Burma will most likely be elected Secretary General of the United Nations. U Thant (U is a Burmese honorific meaning "uncle," or merely "mister") is the son of a small landholder from the rice-growing Irrawaddy delta. His university education in Rangoon having been interrupted by the death of his father, he returned to his home and became principal of the nationalist high school, which he himself had earlier attended. There he providentially met the District School Superintendent, U Nu.

During World War II, U Nu persuaded U Thant to join him in Rangoon in building the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League – the nationalist party which dominated Burmese politics from then until 1958. From his initial work in public relations, U Thant moved through a variety of administrative posts, culminating in his appointment as Burma's permanent ambassador to the UN in 1958. Eligible for retirement in 1964, he has talked of devoting all his time to writing: he is now working on the third volume of his study of the

WHO'S BUILDING SHELTERS?

The New Republic *is engaged in a study of the nation's civilian defense program. Our readers can help us gather information. We are interested in learning what is being done or planned in your community by individuals, families or institutions* (i.e. *schools) to provide protection against fallout or blast damage.*

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Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League.

The probable successor to the late Dag Hammarskjold has never shown any taste for command. He has not spoken forcefully on divisive issues that have come before the UN. If the Secretary General's role should force such an obligation on him, it is uncertain how he would respond. He is described as self-effacing, compromising and diplomatic, rather than as a mobilizer of opinion for great causes – a true civil servant – though he has some talent for behind-the-scenes infighting.

While he represents a neutral country, his is not the Krishna Menon brand of neutralism: he does not see Suez as a greater outrage than Hungary, nor object more to American than to Russian nuclear tests. As chairman of the UN committee on Algeria he has shown more interest in reducing the suffering of the people than in scoring debater's points against France. Unlike representatives of some newly-independent and non-aligned nations, he is an outspoken believer in parliamentary institutions. Yet he displays no generalized hostility toward those (*i.e.*, the Russians) who do not endorse his Western ideas on civil liberties. Perhaps only a man with such a temperament could fill an office which henceforth will require the talents of a chairman rather than of a prime minister.

George Washington Ayub

Pakistan's behavior since President Mohammad Ayub Khan's triumphal summer visit to the US has been marked by an imprudence, not to say arrogance, scarcely characteristic of sound statesmanship. Perhaps Field Marshal Ayub's hosts in Washington erred in laying on their encomiums too thick and sending the visitor home with an impression that he could count on wholehearted and uncritical American support in just about anything he might undertake. At the elegant Mount Vernon banquet in Ayub's honor, President Kennedy even likened him to George Washington – thus equating a general who knocked over a civil government with one who on an historic occasion specifically eschewed such an act. All this was enough to go to any dictator's head.

Pakistan's recent extension of *de jure* recognition to the FLN as the government of Algeria – an act of defiance of France, an ally of Pakistan in SEATO – is hardly significant except as an indication of an intransigent spirit. Of far greater importance are Pakistan's actions against neighboring Afghanistan.

The roots of those difficulties lie in a long history. Through the latter part of the 19th Century the forces of the British raj contended with the Emir of Kabul for ascendancy in the tribal lands lying west of the Indus and for control of the passes from Central Asia into the Indian subcontinent. The Afghan wars culminated some 70 years ago in a standoff agreement setting a demarcation, known as the Durand line, above which the British pledged not to undertake military protection of their traders and below which the Emir of Kabul would not deploy forces. The British thereafter treated the tribal lands between the Indus and the Durand line as a buffer area. But the Pakistanis, as successors to the British, have been treating this as an integral part of their domain. In rejoinder, the Afghans have insisted that the peoples of the tribal areas – the land of the Pathans – are as yet of undetermined national status.

The Pathans have not been amenable to control by any central regime in Pakistan, but their restiveness has been accentuated in the three years since Ayub's takeover; for what ties they had established with Pakistan were to a Pakistan with republican institutions, and these have been forcibly superceded by martial rule imposed on Pakistan by an army in which the Pathans' historic adversaries, the Punjabis, are the dominant element. The Ayub regime has countered the Pathans' increasing restiveness with tightened suppression. As it has done so, a mounting stream of propaganda has poured forth from Afghanistan to remind the Pathans of their plight and to keep them informed of oppressive actions taken by the Pakistan Government. In the belief that the Afghan consulates and trade offices on the Pakistani side of the border were serving as gathering points for anti-Pakistan propaganda, the Pakistan Government closed the consulates, sundering all trade to and from land-locked Afghanistan. The resulting economic crisis for Afghanistan has been intensified by a Pakistani decision to require travel documents and inoculation certificates from the *Powindahs*, or nomadic peoples, accustomed to moving back and forth between the two countries with the seasons. A complete rupture of diplomatic relations between the two countries naturally followed.

An important side effect has been the prohibition by Pakistan of shipments to Afghanistan that are essential to the US aid program there.

Only the Soviet Union stands to gain as a result of this chain of events. The dispatch of Marshal Sokolovsky to Afghanistan's capital and the Russian initiative in flying a sizable portion of Afghanistan's impounded fruit crop to new markets in Central Asia give ample indication that the Soviet Government does not intend to miss any opportunities to increase its leverage on Afghanistan in consequence of Pakistan's actions.

The President has acted wisely in sending a personal envoy as mediator in this dispute and in selecting for this mission Livingston T. Merchant, our Ambassador to Canada and one of the most experienced American diplomats. He, if anyone, should be able to repair some of the damage to which our Government's earlier excesses of hospitality unwittingly contributed.

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Time Buying and TV

Suppose *The St. Louis Post-Dispatch* were suddenly to announce a new policy whereby an advertiser would have to supply 10 adjacent columns of editorial matter for every column of advertising space he purchased: Would a department-store "sponsor" an analysis of the Communist Party Congress in Moscow – knowing it is of interest to a minority of readers? Or would it "sponsor" a story giving the sordid details of that Hollywood star's love life – thus attracting more attention to itself and, consequently, to the store's adjacent ad?

Absurd? But such a joining of advertising and editorial control would merely be the print-media counterpart of what has long existed, and what a long list of sponsors and advertising agency executives told the FCC last month, must continue, as the only practical and possible method of making up programs for TV.

A significant dissent, however, to this pattern of editorial (or programming) control by advertisers, has just been entered by Mr. Fairfax Cone, head of the prominent advertising agency, Foote, Cone & Belding. In a speech to Midwestern broadcasters, he called upon the industry to adopt a system under which advertisers would no longer sponsor programs, but simply purchase from each network the quantities of time they want – just as they now contract for a certain number of pages in each magazine they use, without specific regard to the surrounding editorial matter. No advertiser could then be held responsible by viewers for program content over which the advertiser no longer exercises control – thus eliminating what is probably the major cause of TV censorship.

Also, as Mr. Cone stressed, with each advertiser appearing on a proportionately equal number of lower- as well as higher-rated programs, each would reach the same number of people over any given span of time. No longer would the production of quality (*i.e.*, less popular) programs be so hazardous commercially. And from the merchandisers' point of view, the "magazine" systems would have a third advantage: The more discriminating mass minority who seldom watch TV – and certainly almost none of the banal, formula shows which predominate in the highest-priced evening periods – would be given a new incentive to switch on their sets.

Actually, despite the objections to any divorce of advertising from programming functions, many advertisers are already investing huge sums in TV commercials whose time-purchases offer no opportunity for program control. Not only is this true of time bought within network shows such as Paar's and "Today" but of most national spot advertising placed individually with local stations on the usually locally-controlled programs. Moreover, many big TV advertisers, some of whom threaten to pull out of TV entirely if the "magazine concept" is adopted, are among those whose English subsidiaries are enjoying fantastic success from their use of the commercial British network which, by law, allows no program sponsorship.

Dead Heat in Turkey

The Turks were the "terrible Turk" to our forefathers, the "good old Turk" – firm bastion against the Czar – to 19th Century Britain, and "tough Turks" in this day of Cold War. Unlike most peoples in their neighborhood, they are not afraid to swim against the stream. They levered themselves out of dictatorship at the end of the Ataturk regime, and are trying to do it again.

The elections in Turkey amount to a snub for the well-meaning but bumbling soldiers who overthrew the Menderes Government in May, 1960. These soldiers said that their objective was a return to democracy; their criticisms were levelled at Menderes' police and censorship practices as well as at economic overspending that swelled Turkey's foreign debt to nearly a billion dollars. As far as a return to democracy went, their leader, General Gursel, kept his word. He evolved a committee of national union that in turn evolved a constituent assembly, and this produced a constitution which was presented to the nation in the summer. The voters showed their independence of mind by accepting it only by a small majority. Then the Gursel Government made its big mistake. For over 11 months, it had the leaders of the old regime on trial. In the teeth of at least 80 percent of Turkish opinion and the whole of world opinion, it pronounced death sentences on these men. It hanged Adnan Menderes and two of his colleagues for offenses that are not capital. Inside Turkey, nearly everyone was abashed by the deed; civilized countries do not execute statesmen for their political opinions, or for making economic mistakes.

These sentiments are reflected in the results of the general election, which can be read either as a stalemate, or as a narrow victory for the dead Menderes. No party got a clear majority in either branch of the legislature. The prospects are, therefore, that no one will be able to do without the generals altogether; they will be needed as umpires. Either General Gursel will be forgiven the executions on account of his praiseworthy effort to restore Parliament, and will persuade all four parties to join in a national government of reconciliation; or the three legatees of the Menderes party will make common cause. If both these devices fail, there remains a risk that the army will declare "no deal" and resume power. In a confusing scene, only one element remains constant. Turkey's foreign policy is still the same: It stands by its Western alliance.

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Moving the UN to Berlin Is Not "Utopian"

Berlin

For the first time in more than 15 years the United Nations has been spoken of seriously, and almost spectacularly, in connection with the East-West crisis over Berlin. In the past there were only a few passing moments of interest and involvement. I remember in the year 1950 writing a letter for the late Mayor Ernst Reuter in which the suggestion was made to invite the UN to hold its planned European sessions in Berlin. Nothing came of this, nor of the plan the following year to have an impartial UN commission investigate the conditions for holding free elections in East and West Berlin: Reuter had welcomed the appointed commission (with observers from Pakistan, Iceland, Brazil, Poland and The Netherlands) but Pankow never replied to their request to visit the East.

For the next decade the Berlin problem remained locked in the Cold War forms which it had taken after the victorious partition of the German capital in 1945.

Obviously, the turn to the UN after the Berlin crisis of the winter 1958 and the summer 1961 is less a brilliant new idea than a move of some desperation. Can the existing Cold War forms be loosened a bit? Can the warlike tensions between East and West be mediated substantially by the introduction of some new factor? Can some compromise solution be found which would not redound to the decisive (and hence inacceptable) advantage of one side or the other?

Sen. Mike Mansfield launched a "trial balloon" in Washington about the possibility of making all of Berlin "a free UN city," and if at first it upset the State Department and the Bonn Foreign Office, it slowly made headway. A British Parliamentary group suggested the transfer of the whole UN Headquarters from New York to Berlin as a dramatic means of stabilizing the peace; others proposed the transfer of a few important UN agencies as sufficient to make a real difference in the situation. Only a few weeks ago I participated in a European television program in which the late Dag Hammarskjold also took part; he was very critical (whereas I was rather favorable) of the whole idea, but his dismissal of it as "utopian" is being belied by the increasing hints of approval from the very highest places. James Reston reported in the *New York Times* that President Kennedy was "giving the UN proposal serious attention." Paul-Henri Spaak (among others) reported, after returning from the Soviet Union, that Khrushchev "thought the matter worth considering."

My own feeling is that a UN solution is probably one of the only very few remaining hopes of avoiding some horrible catastrophe over Berlin in the next years. It can loosen things by introducing new factors; it could help create a new and more hopeful atmosphere; and it would not appear to be a Cold War victory for either side, although both East and West will be calculating risk and advantage very carefully.

Why would Khrushchev be likely to support the UN headquarters in Berlin? First, because in Soviet eyes its removal from New York would constitute a blow against the Americans. Second, because its placement in Berlin 100 miles behind his Iron Curtain would give him, brutally put, a marvelous hostage. Thirdly, any weakening of the existing ties of West Berlin to West Germany and the Western allies is, for him, a desirable step forward.

If these calculations are correct, why on earth should the West even entertain such an idea? But in the present European situation, where there is so very little room to maneuver, no compromise solution has any chance of acceptance which does not encourage both sides to believe that each may have made, in the short or long run, a shrewder bargain of it.

The Americans are being persuaded to support the UN idea because the removal of the UN headquarters from New York is not really a "blow" at all: the US is no longer endangered by isolationism and Berlin UN meetings would capture the imaginations of Americans as much as sessions in Manhattan; more than that, they would be rid of a lot of oppressive embarrassments (especially the color bar). Secondly, its placement within the Soviet Empire may have some dangers, but by and large it is likely to have a fresh and liberalizing effect in Central Europe – think of the open debates radiating out in all directions! Thirdly, the security of West Berlin would not necessarily be decreased in the least because built into the new UN statute would be not only the presence of the Western garrisons (a point which Khrushchev has conceded), but also the American military guarantee for the sovereign independence of Berlin, the UN Free City.

What about the Berliners? My feeling here in this depressed and disoriented ex-capital is that such a solution could alone give life and hope to the city and its millions. It would give them a sense of new political purpose. It would give a still-great metropolis a world-historic task for peace, European coexistence and global ideological competition. Last but not least, it would open the prospect of the removal of that awful wall which went up on August 13 and whose cement barbed wire and cracked glass barriers cruelly divide the city.

Melvin J. Lasky

As editor of Der Monat, *Mr. Lasky worked for many years in Berlin and now edits* Encounter *magazine.*

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Whistling While We Work

Who would have believed it? Ex-President Eisenhower, asked to name the great American of the past with whom he would most enjoy half an hour's conversation, chose Benjamin Franklin! With that reply this superficial observer's respect for Mr. Eisenhower's perceptiveness went up six or eight notches. Franklin was undoubtedly the best conversationalist that ever played a large part in American political life, not forgetting Jefferson, Lincoln or Theodore Roosevelt. The surprise is that Mr. Eisenhower, probably the worst conversationalist in the group, appreciates Franklin's quality.

But the whole televised interview with Mr. Eisenhower was fascinating in its revelation both of what the ex-President sees and what he doesn't see. Mr. Eisenhower is still bemused by the weird campaign of 1960 in which some strange hypnosis caused each of the major parties to put up its weakest available candidate. Disinterested analysts are now convinced that Nixon was the only Republican that Kennedy could have beaten. On the other hand Kennedy, owing to the handicap of religious prejudice, was the only Democrat that Nixon had a chance to beat. The result was almost a draw. Yet Eisenhower, with his strange affinity for the unpopular – Nixon, Sherman Adams, Dulles – cannot accept the obvious explanation.

At the same time his comment on the pioneers revealed a penetration surpassing that of nearly all the politicians of both parties now in active practice. Those people, observed Eisenhower, lived happily under the constant threat of the tomahawk and the scalping knife. It was at least as clear and present a danger as the threat of nuclear warfare, yet it seems never to have produced such pessimism as pervades this country today. Those people had work to do, and their concentration on the task of building a nation immunized them against hysteria.

Eisenhower did not append the obvious moral, but surely it ought not to be necessary for him to draw us a diagram. The really dire threat to this country is not Communism, it is boredom. The old Roman idea that "bread and circuses" are indispensable instruments of effective government was not altogether the folly that it is commonly adjudged, for there are other circuses than Ringling's, and there are showmen not of Barnum's class. The Hundred Days of the New Deal, for an example that Eisenhower mentions, were the grandest circus of modern times, and during that performance we feared nothing but fear itself.

Kennedy has half-comprehended this. In both the Children's Crusade and the Alliance for Progress he has set us tasks from which we might derive satisfaction and pride. He has suggested that we seek new frontiers, obviously convinced that constructive labor is an antidote to hysteria. But perhaps he is too literal-minded to perceive the very real values that sometimes inform the apparently meretricious; he cannot associate utility with steam calliopes or spangled tights.

But Barnum could and so could every good showman who has operated in the political rather than the sawdust arena. Both Roosevelts were masters of the art, yielding precedence in that respect to Old Hickory alone. The creation of a mood is the goal – in politics the mood of confident, vigorous action – and anything that contributes to that end is of practical utility, however splendiferous.

Jackson's battle over Peggy Eaton's virtue, TR's battle over "In God We Trust" on the coins, FDR's battle over changing the date of Thanksgiving, all exasperated the literal-minded, and all roared to resounding defeats of the President, but all created the impression that the Administration was wide awake, up, and doing, and that impression was very much worthwhile.

These, however, were all trivialities, and the ideal is to set off the fireworks in connection with something of real importance. Mr. Kennedy's Alliance for Progress, for instance, has – or had – in it enormous potentialities, both for achievement and for excitement. It may be that the achievement will yet be realized, but the excitement has fizzled out. Mr. Kennedy himself has reverted to telling us that this is the gravest crisis in history, and so on, which is no doubt true, but is certainly no new frontier.

Mr. Eisenhower is right. It isn't the peril that counts, but the promise. If any leader will tell us in such a dramatic way that we can't help believing that the tangle through which we are laboring is really a wilderness to be subdued, he need not worry about our depressed spirits. To such a task we would go whistling cheerily, even though the farmer must plow with a rifle slung across his back and the axeman must fell trees with his wife standing by, gun in hand, scanning the bushes for lurking savages.

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Edward Hallet Carr

The Widening Horizon

An English historian argues that the West's declining influence on world affairs should not cause nostalgia, much less panic, and attacks his colleagues' flight from Liberal rationalism.

The great period of the 15th and 16th Centuries, in which the medieval world finally broke up in ruins and the foundations of the modern world were laid, was marked by the discovery of new continents and by the passing of the world center of gravity from the shores of the Mediterranean to those of the Atlantic. Even the lesser upheaval of the French Revolution had its geographical sequel in the calling in of the new world to redress the balance of the old. But the changes wrought by the 20th Century revolution are far more sweeping than anything that has happened since the 16th Century. After some 400 years the world center of gravity has definitely shifted away from Western Europe. Western Europe, together with the outlying parts of the English-speaking world, has become an appanage of the North American continent, or, if you like, an agglomeration in which the United States serves both as power-house and as control-tower. Nor is this the only, or perhaps the most significant, change. It is by no means clear that the world center of gravity now resides, or will continue for long to reside, in the English-speaking world with its Western European annex. It appears to be the great land-mass of Eastern Europe and Asia, with its extensions into Africa, which today calls the tune in world affairs. The "unchanging East" is nowadays a singularly worn-out *cliché*.

Let us take a quick look at what has happened to Asia in the present century. The story begins with the Anglo-Japanese alliances of 1902 – the first admission of an Asiatic country to the charmed circle of European Great Powers. It may perhaps be regarded as a coincidence that Japan signalized her promotion by challenging and defeating Russia, and, in so doing, kindled the first spark which ignited the great 20th Century revolution. The French revolutions of 1789 and 1848 had found their imitators in Europe. The first Russian revolution of 1905 awakened no echo in Europe, but found its imitators in Asia: in the next few years revolutions occurred in Persia, in Turkey, and in China. The First World War was not precisely a world war, but a European civil war – assuming that such an entity as Europe existed – with worldwide consequences: these included the stimulation of industrial development in many Asian countries, of anti-foreign feeling in China and of Indian nationalism, and the birth of Arab nationalism. The Russian revolution of 1917 provided a further and decisive impulse. What was significant here was that its leaders looked persistently, but in vain, for imitators in Europe, and finally found them in Asia. It was Europe that had become "unchanging," Asia that was on the move.

I need not continue this familiar story down to the present time. The historian is hardly yet in a position to assess the scope and significance of the Asian and African revolution. But the spread of modern technological and industrial processes, and of the beginnings of education and political consciousness, to millions of the population of Asia and Africa, is changing the face of those continents; and, while I cannot peer into the future, I do not know of any standard of judgment which would allow me to regard this as anything but a progressive development in the perspective of world history. The changed shape of the world resulting from these events has brought with it a relative decline in the weight, certainly of Great Britain, perhaps of the English-speaking countries as a whole, in world affairs. But relative decline is not absolute decline; and what disturbs and alarms me is not the march of progress in Asia or Africa, but the tendency of dominant groups in Britain – and perhaps elsewhere – to turn a blind or uncomprehending eye on these developments, to adopt toward them an attitude oscillating between mistrustful disdain and affable condescension, and to sink back into a paralyzing nostalgia for the past. . . .

The stale old quip about Victorian insularity "Storms in the Channel – the Continent Isolated" has an uncomfortable topical ring today. Once more storms are

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raging in the world beyond; and, while we in the English-speaking countries huddle together and tell ourselves in plain everyday English that other countries and other continents are isolated by their extraordinary behavior from the boons and blessings of our civilization, it sometimes looks as if we, by our inability or unwillingness to understand, were isolating ourselves from what is really going on in the world. . . .

The Attack on Reason

When Acton spoke of progress, he did not think in terms of the popular British concept of "gradualism." "The Revolution, or as we say Liberalism," is a striking phrase from a letter of 1887. "The method of modern progress," he said in a lecture on modern history 10 years later, "was revolution"; and in another lecture he spoke of "the advent of general ideas which we call revolution." This is explained in one of his unpublished manuscript notes: "The Whig governed by compromise: the Liberal begins the reign of ideas." Acton believed that "the reign of ideas" meant liberalism, and that liberalism meant revolution. In Acton's lifetime, liberalism had not yet spent its force as a dynamic of social change. In our day, what survives of liberalism has everywhere become a conservative factor in society. It would be meaningless today to preach a return to Acton. But the historian is concerned, first to establish where Acton stood, secondly to contrast his position with that of contemporary thinkers, and thirdly to inquire what elements in his position may be still valid today. The generation of Acton suffered, no doubt, from overweening self-confidence and optimism, and did not sufficiently realize the precarious nature of the structure on which its faith rested. But it possessed two things both of which we are badly in need today: a sense of change as a progressive factor in history, and belief in reason as our guide for the understanding of its complexities.

Let us now listen to some voices of the 1950's. I [have] quoted Sir Lewis Namier's expression of satisfaction that, while "practical solutions" were sought for "concrete problems," "programs and ideals are forgotten by both parties," and his description of this as a symptom of "national maturity." I am not fond of these analogies between the lifespan of individuals and that of nations; and, if such an analogy is invoked, it tempts one to ask what follows when we have passed the stage of "maturity." But what interests me is the sharp contrast drawn between the practical and the concrete, which are praised, and "programs and ideals," which are condemned. This exaltation of practical action over idealistic theorizing is, of course, the hallmark of conservatism. In Namier's thought it represents the voice of the 18th Century, of the England at the accession of George III, protesting against the impending onset of Acton's revolution and reign of ideas. But the same familiar expression of out-and-out conservatism in the form of out-and-out empiricism is highly popular in our day. It may be found in its most popular form in Professor Trevor-Roper's remark that, "when radicals scream that victory is indubitably theirs, sensible conservatives knock them on the nose." Professor Oakeshott offers us a more sophisticated version of this fashionable empiricism: in our political concerns, he tells us, we "sail a boundless and bottomless sea," where there is "neither starting-point nor appointed destination," and where our sole aim can be "to keep afloat on an even keel."

I need not pursue the catalogue of recent writers who have denounced political "utopianism" and "messianism"; these have become the current terms of opprobrium for far-reaching radical ideas on the future of society. Nor shall I attempt to discuss recent trends in the United States, where historians and political theorists have had less inhibitions than their colleagues in [Britain] in openly proclaiming their allegiance to conservatism. I will quote only a remark by one of the most distinguished and most moderate of American conservative historians, Professor Samuel Eliot Morison of Harvard, who in his presidential address to the American Historical Association in December, 1950, thought that the time had come for a reaction against what he called "the Jefferson-Jackson-F. D. Roosevelt line" and pleaded for a history of the United States "written from a sanely conservative point of view."

But it is Professor Popper who, at any rate in Great Britain, has once more expressed this cautious conservative outlook in its clearest and most uncompromising form. Echoing Namier's rejection of "programs and ideals," he attacks policies which allegedly aim at "remodelling the 'whole of society' in accordance with a definite plan," commends what he calls "piecemeal social engineering," and does not apparently shrink from the imputation of "piecemeal tinkering" and "muddling through." On one point, indeed, I should pay tribute to Professor Popper. He remains a stout defender of reason, and will have no truck with past or present excursions into irrationalism. But, if we look into his prescription of "piecemeal social engineering," we shall see how limited is the role which he assigns to reason. Though his definition of "piecemeal engineering" is not very precise, we are specifically told that criticism of "ends" is excluded; and the cautious examples which he gives of its legitimate activities – "constitutional reform" and "a tendency toward a greater equalization of income" – show plainly that it is intended to operate within the assumptions of our existing society. The status of reason in Professor Popper's scheme of things is, in fact, rather like that of a British civil servant,

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qualified to administer the policies of the government in power and even to suggest practical improvements to make them work better, but not to question their fundamental presuppositions or ultimate purposes. This is useful work: I, too, have been a civil servant in my day. But this subordination of reason to the assumptions of the existing order seems to me in the long run wholly unacceptable. This is not how Acton thought of reason when he propounded his equation revolution = liberalism = the reign of ideas. Progress in human affairs, whether in science or in history or in society, has come mainly through the bold readiness of human beings not to confine themselves to seeking piecemeal improvements in the way things are done, but to present fundamental challenges in the name of reason to the current way of doing things and to the avowed or hidden assumptions on which it rests. I look forward to a time when the historians and sociologists and political thinkers of the English-speaking world will regain their courage for that task.

It is, however, not the waning faith in reason among the intellectuals and the political thinkers of the English-speaking world which perturbs me most, but the loss of the pervading sense of a world in perpetual motion. This seems at first sight paradoxical; for rarely has so much superficial talk been heard of changes going on around us. But the significant thing is that change is no longer thought of as achievment, as opportunity, as progress, but as an object of fear. When our political and economic pundits prescribe, they have nothing to offer us but the warning to mistrust radical and far-reaching ideas, to shun anything that savors of revolution, and to advance – if advance we must – as slowly and cautiously as we can. At a moment when the world is changing its shape more rapidly and more radically than at any time in the last 400 years, this seems to me a singular blindness, which gives ground for apprehension, not that the worldwide movement will be stayed, but that [Britain] – and perhaps other English-speaking countries – may lag behind the general advance, and relapse helplessly and uncomplainingly into some nostalgic backwater. For myself I remain an optimist; and when Sir Lewis Namier warns me to eschew programs and ideals, and Professor Oakeshott tells me that we are going nowhere in particular and that all that matters is to see that nobody rocks the boat, and Professor Popper wants to keep that dear old T model on the road by dint of a little piecemeal engineering, and Professor Trevor-Roper knocks screaming radicals on the nose, and Professor Morison pleads for history written in a sane conservative spirit, I shall look out on a world in tumult and a world in travail, and shall answer in the well-worn words of a great scientist: "And yet – it moves."

President Kennedy's Economics

by Seymour E. Harris

In his criticism ("JFK Economics," October 9) of my *New Republic* article, Mr. Leon Keyserling deals with three issues: (1) The kind of advice to be given to the President; (2) The disappointing economic policies of President Kennedy; (3) My overemphasis of specific therapy for treating unemployment. I shall discuss these in turn.

If they wish, economists may advise *qua* economists and restrict their analyses to the economics of the problem. This apparently is Mr. Keyserling's advice to the writer. I am surprised at this because I have never known Mr. Keyserling to restrict his proposals to the legal or economic aspects. Moreover, I recall that President Truman was anything but pleased when Mr. Keyserling's predecessor refused to suggest policy decisions for the President and insisted upon restricting himself to the economics of the problem. I have been at conferences with Presidential candidates and high officials where at first the assignment to the economist was to restrict the discussion to the economic issues and to leave the other aspects to the non-economists. But eventually the crucial question was put: What shall I do? And that often means a consideration not only of economics, but value judgments, politics, administration and so forth. Economics alone will not solve problems of policy. An economist who thinks it will overestimates the importance of his subject.

When I say that *qua* economist I would accept larger deficits but in view of other considerations I am not equally enthusiastic about large deficits in the present milieu, I do not seek an excuse for the President to do less, as Mr. Keyserling indicates, but I do say sound judgments cannot be made on economics alone.

Here is an example of the differences between Mr.

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Keyserling and the writer. I believe most economists would agree that a rise of national debt of $12 billion per year in one bad year of a three-year cycle, and a roughly balanced budget in the other two years, would be sound economics. Why should it not? An average increase of federal debt of $4 billion a year surely does not spell bankruptcy, for the rise of interest costs would be less than one percent of the expected rise of the gross national product. I cannot understand why either Senator Byrd or the man in the street fails to see this. Nor can I see why the able Senator is so worried about a rising national debt and public expenditures when the cost of financing the debt has dropped by one-half since 1945; and when the federal government's take of resources (as opposed to take of income, which includes items like debt interest and insurance funds) was $52 billion in both 1952 and 1960 even though GNP had risen by $150 billion in the meanwhile.

But the fact is that many Congressmen and their constituencies *are* genuinely concerned and until we can convince them that they are wrong the President, in my opinion, would be unwise not to take into account their mistaken views. I may say I have tried many times to convince Senator Byrd and many other Congressmen, but not always with success.

In his criticism of my article, Mr Keyserling also gives the impression of disappointment at the advances in 1961. I disagree. The President can well be proud of what was achieved in 1961 and likely in 1962, both absolutely and relative to 1952-1960. More progress undoubtedly would have been made on the domestic front had the President not been under such serious pressure on the security front. I have every expectation that more gains will be made in 1962. This is aside from the restraints related to the external position of the dollar.

I agree that our advance on the unemployment front has not been satisfactory. Yet there are many first-rate economists who believe that there has been a significant improvement in 1961. But we must reduce unemployment further. The President is undoubtedly aware of this. He knows that the 1961 unemployment is an Eisenhower residual. But 1962 and 1963 are his responsibilities. Aggressive action will be necessary. The needling should not be against the President, but against those members of Congress who hold him back. A football player who blocks too far ahead of the ball carrier does not achieve much. Just as the education in modern fiscal theory now should be directed toward the laggards in Congress, it was appropriate from 1952 to 1960 to needle the Executive, for then it was the restraining force. Surely Mr. Keyserling does not believe that President Kennedy would allow his Administration to repeat the mistakes of Eisenhower in increasing interest rates at a pace unparalleled in 100 years, or encouraging a $20 billion reduction in federal contributions to the nation's buying power in a short period of time.

Mr. Keyserling seems concerned lest there be no one available "to help the President next year, against the forces which will improperly use increased defense spending to fight measures put forward to advance the general welfare." Indeed, in 1961 we could have had more outlays on welfare. (That we did not have them is largely Congress' responsibility.) But is it improper advice to question rising welfare expenditures when defense outlays are greatly on the rise?

Mr. Keyserling is critical of the President for not incurring adequate deficits and welfare expenditures. Yet in similar circumstances, Mr. Keyserling followed policies which he now finds unsupportable under Kennedy. Mr. Keyserling as Co-Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers in 1950 and Chairman in 1951 and 1952 (for the Report of January), did not seem to support the policies he now advocates. In the Report of January, 1950, President Truman was at great pains to urge a balancing of the budget, despite the recession. He would not only balance the budget, but pay off the debt: ". . . an expanding economy, all reasonable reductions in expenditures and moderate increases in revenues is the wisest course toward a balanced budget." (p. 13). The Council would not recommend a rise in public spending in order to take up the slack in employment. In the Reports of January 1951 and January 1952 the stress was on cutting all expenditures not tied to defense.

On the issue of the relative importance of general measures (*e.g.* monetary and fiscal) as against specific measures (*e.g.* area redevelopment, vocational training) to treat unemployment, Mr. Keyserling again raises questions concerning my motivation. My position rests on 10 years' experience as an adviser to the New England Governors on the depressed areas that accompanied the decline of the textile industry in New England. I watched jobs disappear year after year, in periods of depression and of prosperity. Unemployment at 20 percent prevailed for years in one major textile town, and at very high rates in others. In coal, may I add, the loss of jobs in postwar was four percent in good years and 16 percent in bad years.

This does not mean that I deny the validity of the view that general measures are the first line of attack. I have always taken that position, and, unlike some adherents of the specific attack, I do not stress the importance of specific attacks to discourage general treatment of demand. I have shown that, beyond a certain point, general demand stimulation will help the textile, coal and railroad towns little. Even deficits of $20 billion per year will not wipe out the hard core of unemployment in some of these towns.

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O dear God, O dear All

by Stanley Kauffmann

MacKinlay Kantor's new 951-page novel – possibly the biggest American historical romance since Ben Ames Williams' *House Divided* – seems staggeringly long until you have begun to read it. It diminishes as you realize that it could easily have been 1,951 or 2,951 pages. For Kantor is telling the story of some settler families who were massacred by Indians on the Iowa-

Spirit Lake
by MacKinlay Kantor
(World; $6.95)

Minnesota border in 1857, and, to expand the book, all he had to do was to provide more families and follow them, too, from their beginnings to their sudden deaths. In fact, when you think of the further variations of pioneer character, factual deluge, sexual fantasy, and carbonated lyric gush from which Kantor has refrained, it is possible to consider the work reticient.

Spirit Lake would not be worth much attention except that it is very similar in texture and method to *Andersonville* which was honored (if that is still the word) with a Pulitzer prize, and it also gives us in little (if *that* is the word) a chance to examine some of the characteristics of the immensely popular novelist. Kantor is the phenomenon *in excelsis;* a bonanza to bookshops and book clubs, his torrential success has overflowed the best-seller lists to engulf some serious critics and inundate the front page of the *Times Book Review. Spirit Lake* can be expected to have at least as warm a popular and critical reception as *Andersonville.* Let us, then, look at the author whom our fellow-countrymen hold so highly.

First, his settings. Kantor has fared profitably with contemporary novels (including one about the New York City police force), but he has found the past a more fruitful field. American readers love facts. If they can feel that they are "learning" while they are reading a novel, not merely enjoying themselves, their residual puritan conscience is cosseted. For an author, the past is happy because it automatically provides thick substance. It is much more difficult to write 951 pages about a time that people know first-hand; you can't fill the book with descriptions of food, clothes, dishes, games. Also, the past affords color – candles and lanterns and pewter gleam all along the interior of the novel. And, perhaps most important, the past provides the opportunity for research, which in turn provides the author with the opportunity to prove integrity. How can one mistrust an author who lists (as Kantor does) 44 items of cabin furnishings in a single paragraph?

Flawless factual authenticity is his armor. Shakespeare may have clocks in Rome, Robert Graves' *I, Claudius* may irritate some classicists, but Kantor is *reliable.* Isn't this proof of merit? Didn't *Andersonville* win the golden opinions of such Civil War experts as Bruce Catton, Henry Steele Commager, and Benjamin P. Thomas? Didn't their admiration, kindled by this authenticity, flare so high that they called *Andersonville* a great novel? See the power of the fact.

In the new book, sample the results of this prodigious research in the field of Indian lore alone. A considerable portion of the novel is devoted to the Indians, explaining the causes of the massacre. An Indian woman, abducted by the savage ringleader, ruminates:

> "Still she could not think of him as End-Red or Red-End; she thought of him as designated by a queer piling up of soft Dakota syllables. She thought of him only as Inkpaduta. . . . Had he been Hidatsa and declared that his name was His-Shield, she would have considered him to be His-Shield, for that was what *Itamidaki* meant. Had he termed himself as Sprinkle-Pussy-Willows, she would have thought of him as being so named – *Mashuakazadutoti.* It was the translation of Dakota terminology which built a chore for her; he was not an understandable *Icpuhishi* or Red-End; he was Inkpaduta."

What matter that the argument is (as the subjunctive shows) non-existent? See how Kantor has proved his *bona fides* and see what we have learned. Perhaps the Commissioner of Indian Affairs will call *Spirit Lake* a great novel.

Facts about the settlers are even more generously supplied. For one among thousands of examples, a young doctor's library is itemized, concluding with "Daniel Drake's *A Systematic, Historical, Etiological and Practical Treatise, on the Principal Diseases of the Interior Valley of North America as They Appear in the Caucasian, African, Indian, and Esquimaux Varieties of Its Population.*" And so the 951 pages simply *fly.*

For a taste of Kantor's style, his very first paragraph will do as well as any. Here it is, in full:

> "Abbie's father called from a distance, urging her to hasten, but the girl kept hovering above the hen and chicks she loved. Her pale lips trembled wordlessly; her frightened eyes were sticky, yet the message of mingled apprehension and reassurance could not be spoken aloud. Stay here, oh hold fast, oh do guard the little ones . . . crooning prevailed within her, sporadic, intense. Her frame and sapling spirit were anguished. Abbie's worry and disordered prayers seemed spraying out to soak the warped poles and dry sod of which this sagging stable was composed. (It was a stable earlier – now only a leftover chicken shack to be abandoned on the prairie behind the Gardner family as they made their way to the Shell

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Rock River.) Dear baby chickens, please stay well hid. Beloved mother hen, take them into grass if the Indians come nigh."

Vintage Kantor. No deception here. Right at the start lips "trembled wordlessly," as they have done since Laura Jean Libby. "Crooning prevailed within her" – including her toes and pancreas? Or would it have been *infra dig* to say "she crooned"? And *can* anything prevail sporadically? Sporadic within a few moments, too! And if sporadic within such a short time, how intense can it be?

But there are other touches. Any hack could give a child a sapling frame; this girl has a frame without adjective but a sapling *spirit*. (Or can the linotyper have juggled the adjective?) Her "worry and disordered prayers seemed [to whom?] spraying out" to soak the stable. Liquid anxiety combined with liquid orison, with the child as fountain – this is a picture to stun the fancy. And even in metaphor, don't the poles and sod seem inordinately soggy? (But fireproof?)

Then, with a grammatical error (the sentence ought to be "It had been a stable earlier"), we pass from subjective emotion to the narrator's prescience, and back without a flicker to the child's interior again.

Thus, in one paragraph, Kantor does the following. He establishes that this is going to be a long novel; else (we know subconsciously) this considerable space for this material would be disproportionate. He has also established a partiality for cliché, a tin ear, insecure diction, imperfect grammar, uncertain technical control, logorrhea, and – what turns out to be his stylistic forte – rhapsody that lifts him to the pinnacle of magazine minstrelsy. (Much, much more of this to come. "The snow was a pale woman whom you might have loved one time, but now she was dead." "A minute took a long time. A minute was an old bone being dragged across the plain by a crippled dog." Many apostrophes: "O dear God and O dear Silence and O dear All – ")

The paradox of these qualities is that a little does not go a long way; you need a lot of it. A paragraph of this pumped-up bilge dribbles away on the page, but 475,000 words of it gather momentum and seem – to the many and also to the few – to have gained stature. A little bilge makes a puddle, but a lot of it becomes a cataract; and cataracts – even of bilge are impressive.

After Kantor factual amplitude and Kantor poesy, next in order comes Kantor sex. Characterization, in his hands, consists first of elaborate biographical data carefully worked up, sometimes beginning in Europe; then to the *précis* in his notebook, he sends his pedestrian imagination mounted on his spavined Pegasus. One element he never omits in these characters is sex. In the lives of the settler couples, the sexual aspects are chronicled in a way that John O'Hara himself might admire. The sex lives of betrothed couples and of unattached males are also doggedly explored. And if the reader thinks that a lone old settler, off in a cabin by himself, is going to be left out of the sexual orbit, he underestimates Kantor. When an old woman stumbles into the settler's solitary cabin, after her husband has been murdered by the Indians and she has been wandering alone for days, she turns out to be an ex-whore whom the settler used to patronize in St. Louis.

We get Indian sex life, too. What other historical novelist has told us about a squaw's multiple orgasms? Or described Indian pederasty? Or (this may be an absolute literary "first"!) has allowed his Indians to use the word "f —— "?

To the squeamish, Kantor can reply stoutly that he is not writing Currier & Ives romance, that his characters are full men and women and he is applying modern psychological and emotional knowledges to a historical subject. It is not his fault that, because of Victorian prudery, documentation of intimate matters is scanty for this period, much scantier than for some earlier periods. It is not his fault that he thus has to supply the sexual elements in his characters' thought and speech pretty much from fantasy. It is not his fault, surely, that his industry in this area stimulates sales.

Much of the above applies equally to other popular historical novelists – Anya Seton and Irving Stone, for instances. In essence, much of it also applies to such more-or-less contemporary novelists as Leon Uris and Harold Robbins (who supply copious factual material of other sorts in their books.) What is the secret of their success?

It is not simple to analyze and reproduce; the remainder shops are piled high with corpses of imitations. The style of the successful popular novel varies sharply from the near-illiteracy of Harold Robbins to the conscious chromolithography of Robert Penn Warren. But there seem to be three constants. First, plenty of characters and plenty of plot. Second, lots of facts, whether about the Warsaw ghetto or the ante-bellum South. And a third constant, which can be called quasi-sincerity. It is the trance of belief – (or suspension of disbelief) – that the advertising copywriter has to induce in himself before he can effectively sell soap and cigarettes.

Kantor has said that he has been interested in the Spirit Lake story since he was a Midwest child and that when he first heard it, it made him cry. I am sure that this is true. Without figuratively boozy genuineness, the book would lack a central engine. The important thing is not to get carried away by your sincerity; to spice it with sex and puff it with pastry-cook artifice and sweeten it with the sound of twanging heart-strings. But if you do this without a foundation of sincerity, you are liable to wind up selling less than ten thousand copies.

For every Walter Scott there have always been numerous Harrison Ainsworths. There is no more point in deploring it than in deploring the fact that fewer people go to museums than to race-tracks. It would be futile and, in a human sense, presumptuous to "object" to Kantor.

What is disturbing is the seriousness with which he is considered by reputable people. The perennial third-rate is not a worry. Even with the vastly increased power of the third-rate public – through mass mis-education, mass increase in purchasing power, mass communications and productions. It would be sentimental nonsense to imagine that things were ever greatly different, that artist-novelists usually sold better than commercial novelists. It is the present confusion between the two that is worrisome. If *Andersonville* was worth a Pulitzer prize, then *Spirit Lake* – all two and a half pounds of it – may weigh down the brief-cases of college students fifty years from now.

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ART

A Sculptor at His Peak

If one more sign were needed of the steady recession of the kookie American art of the fifties, it could be had in the Whitney's all-out exhibition of the sculpture of Bernard Reder. Unprecedented in the Museum's history, the show takes up all three floors of the building – leading, incidentally, to the best space arrangement yet of the

Sculpture by Bernard Reder
(The Whitney Museum, New York)

movable walls on the second floor, which, for this occasion, are laid flat against the immovable walls. On the ground floor, a double, arching ramp has been built to enable visitors to get the up-and-down, round-and-round view of several pieces. The sculptor so honored does not "assemble" his work; he does not weld, he does not cut with an acetylene torch, he does not nail or glue. His materials are not those of the junk-yard nor yet those of the theater-trunk of a female impersonator. He models in plaster or, more lately, wax, and he casts in imperishable bronze. He has behind him a substantial production in stone carved directly.

Consternation continues. Reder is not sweet seventeen, nor even sour thirty-two. He is a mellow, mature sixty-four, at the peak of his powers, knowing, in a general way, exactly what he wants to do in sculpture, knowing from decades of work precisely how to go about it, and obviously knowing very well who he himself is. His work does not express the despair and bafflement so inescapable in our times. It does not express the distances of outer space, or even of space-time. The work speaks of serene confidence in the artist's ability to grasp the personae of an enchanting earth and model them into bronze. It speaks, often, through the ancient planes and volumes of the female nude. And it speaks, at every point, of an exuberant joy in life.

The tide has turned.

The joy is, perhaps, the more remarkable since Reder has more intimate knowledge of the frightfulness of the 20th Century than most bearded youths pouting about on their Guggenheims. Born in Hasidic Czernowitz, he served, like Schweik, in the Austrian emperor's army of the first World War, ending his service with a Schweikian three months walk home from Serbia after the collapse of the Hapsburgs. Czernowitz was now Rumanian and with the new nationality came a new anti-Semitism culminating in free-lance pogroms and in the deprivation of Reder of his daily bread from tombstone carving. Married, he moved on to Prague and began to achieve recognition. He got out of Prague before Hitler got in and out of Paris only after Hitler got in. There followed the slow torture of the refugee caught in the bureaux – Marseilles, Madrid, Lisbon – which alone could endow with the life-giving American visa. After a final wait in Havana, Reder got here in 1943 in plenty of time to witness the post-war outlawing of his kind of sculpture. That law, happily, being now repealed, here he stands at the Whitney, swelling and leaping with joy.

Swelling and leaping pretty well described the response the work arouses. Proportions aren't severely distorted, but the sense of volume and sculpture-in-the-round that Reder makes much of in his theory expresses itself in the work as solid lumps of flesh and bronze. Breasts, buttocks, bellies and the muscles of arms and legs are easy targets for the same criticism leveled at Michaelangelo's ceiling athletes: muscle-bound. Part of the miracle of Reder's bronzes is that while this is true of many individual parts of pieces, somehow the pieces themselves seem about to ascend into the air. This paradox is related to another: Reder works big as well as small.

Once again, as with Chagall and Max Weber, we are in debt to Hasidic tradition for a great gift, the gift of holy laughter. When you think about it and especially when you consider the relative results in tangible achievement, it is astonishing that more American art followers haven't become Hasidim rather than Zen Buddhists. Reder, in the de luxe catalogue of the show, says of his townsmen in Czernowitz, that they were "always impelled by pure enthusiasm. Their walk is slightly dancing, abrupt running or other curious movements. . . . There was scarcely an action in any part of town which was based on realistic calculation but only imaginative going ahead with results which were, even so, efficient, because this magically creative spirit produced an atmosphere of harmony."

It would be hard to write a more accurate description of Reder's figures in bronze. Astonishingly, he has created a large part of the show in the last couple of years, setting free what seems natural force of energy and vision. The Whitney is peopled by a new race, as if of the Hasidism gone universal and gone feminine.

For Reder's specifically Jewish references are fairly rare. There is a tremendous "Aaron with Tabernacle," in which the tents of the Israelites, the robes of the priest, his fingers and the horns of his headpiece create a spiky, beguiling forest of rough hewn forms mounting up to Sinai and at the same time spreading out across the flat desert held like a gigantic pancake in Aaron's hands. And there is a small figure or two recalling Hasidic people or legends.

Mostly though, the cast of characters is Reder's own, though they are often reinterpretations of ancient materials. The Amazons, as you might expect, are natural candidates for his world, but these are such Amazons as were never told of before. They sit in trees or surround a great bull as if they were sisters to the English fairies of a Midsummer Night.

Reder creates his own band of musicians, too, entangled in yet utterly dominating his personal variations of musical instruments – pianos, harps, even bagpipes and all manner of strings. The players and their instruments open up space within the volumes and everywhere there is the suggestion of music not written or played by the "realistic calculations" of scales but which nevertheless function "efficiently" in the "atmosphere of harmony" produced by the "imaginative going ahead" of the sculptor.

Frank Getlein

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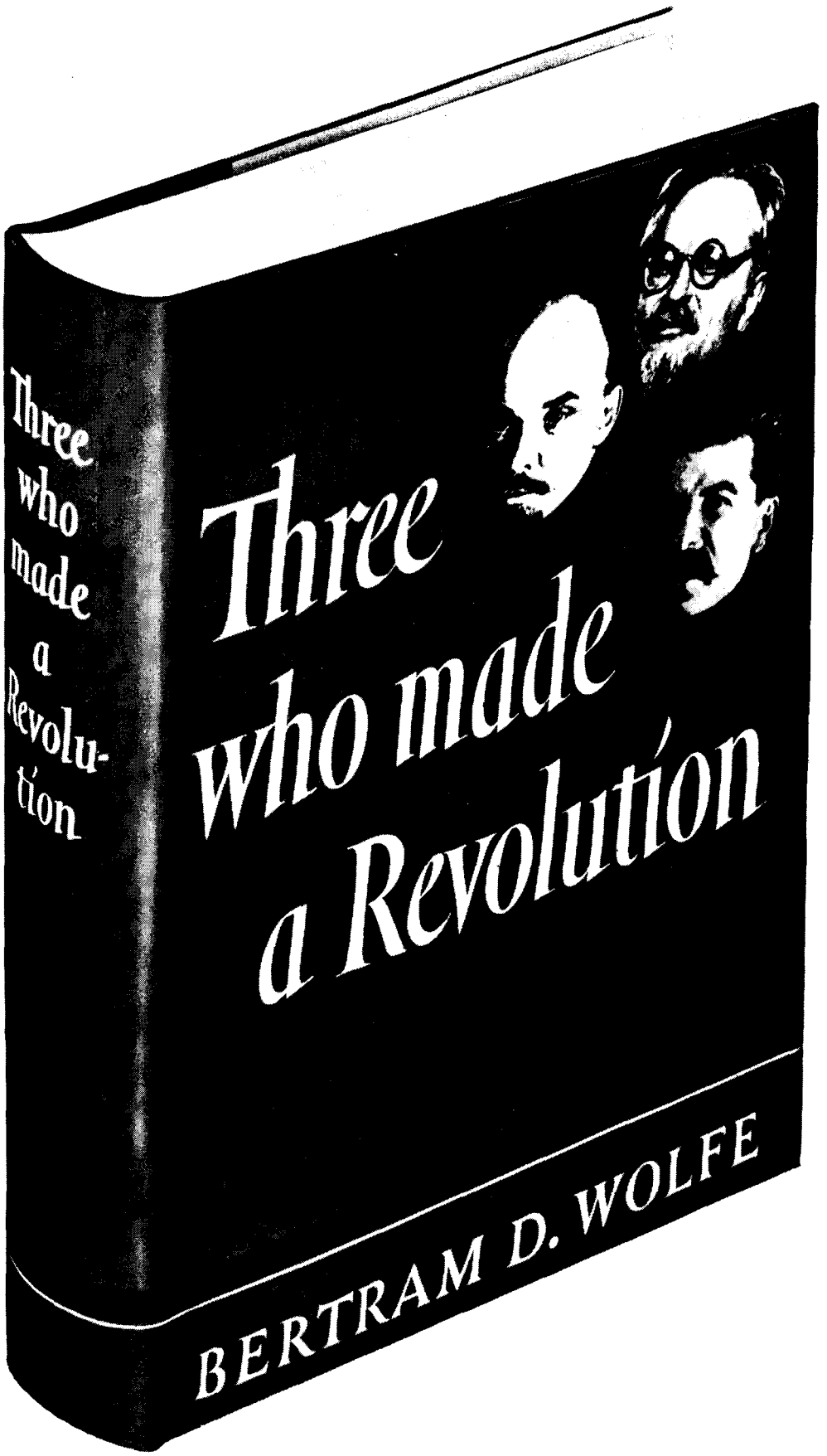

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DID THE NEW REPUBLIC MISREPRESENT FRANCIS WALTER'S BILL?

Protecting the Rights of Aliens

The New Republic [of September 25] states that [under Public Law 87-301] if an alien is "notified that he is about to be put on a plane for, say, Afghanistan," he could "not appeal to the nearest United States District Court, but has to petition a United States Circuit Court of Appeals for judicial review if any." The truth is that if an alien is about to be deported ("put on a plane") he would be at that particular time in custody of the Immigration and Naturalization Service and, therefore, his remedy would be the writ of habeas corpus, fully reserved for his use in my bill. The place to seek remedy under habeas corpus would be, of course, the nearest United States District Court and not the United States Circuit Court of Appeals as *The New Republic* says.

Next, *The New Republic* deplores the fact that an alien will have to seek judicial relief in the United States Circuit Court of Appeals far from his domicile. The truth is that the alien does not have to appear in the court under my bill, and has not appeared in court in the past. The court acts upon the administrative record without the appearance of the alien. This has been the practice for many decades and I might add that the worst racketeers as well as subversives, regardless of where they lived, have consistently filed their appeals in the District of Columbia where the "talented and expensive lawyers" (*New Republic's* designation) reside and where the court docket is so badly overloaded that it took years to reach their cases, thus permitting to "buy" more time for the reluctant deportee.

The New Republic attributes the enactment of my bill to an attempt to "drive away the cloud of humiliation and judicial defeat handing over the Immigration Service in such celebrated cases as those of Carlos Marcello and Frank Costello." Here again *The New Republic* is patently incorrect. In these cases, as in many similar ones, the courts ruled consistently in favor of the Government. It was precisely for this reason that the "talented and expensive lawyers" went from one lower court to another, then again to the Circuit Court of Appeals, and then again to the United States Supreme Court, all the time "buying" extensions of the racketeers' stay in this country. I might add that after three unsuccessful attempts to obtain a favorable ruling in the United States Supreme Court in Marcello's case, his attorneys did not hesitate to go to the courts in Italy in a further attempt to continue to grace the United States with their client's presence.

The New Republic tries to convey the impression that the passage of my bill was "thwarted in the Senate." This is not true. After the House had, on two occasions, acted unanimously on my bill and on one occasion by a 5 to 1 recorded majority, the Senate was deprived from an opportunity to consider my legislation because of the objections of one single Senator raised in the Senate Committee on the Judiciary. However, after my bill has finally reached the floor of the Senate not one voice of opposition was raised against the judicial review provision of my legislation, although an extensive debate took place on other provisions of the larger bill of which these provisions were made a part. When it finally came to a vote, there was only one "nay" heard on the floor of the Senate, all other Senators present voting in the affirmative.

Rep. Francis E. Walter
Chairman, House Immigration and Naturalization Subcommittee

In Reply . . .

An alien about to be deported need not be in custody. In the typical case, after a bureaucrat has decided to deport him, an alien is told to report to the nearest Immigration Service office within a specified time and is "nabbed" when he reports. Until he is in custody his only access to judicial review under Mr. Walter's plan is through the United States Circuit Courts of Appeals. This is one of the cruelly restrictive provisions of Mr. Walter's law, as his own hearings on it show. ("I just don't like to see . . . these bums walking around the United States at liberty, that's all" was a revealing Walter comment.)

The ironic truth about Mr. Walter's bill is that it makes arrest and incarceration a procedural virtue for aliens. Only via the route of detention does an alien have access to the District Courts. Short of petitioning a United States Circuit Court of Appeals – a costly process referred to by Mr. Walter when he scored a few aliens' "ability to pay high attorney's fees" – what Mr. Walter has "fully reserved for his [the alien's] use" is, in a word – jail.

Moreover, for the non-resident alien trying to challenge the Government's effort to exclude him – to *keep* him out rather than *put* him out – Mr. Walter provides no judicial process at all, not even habeas corpus.

Mr. Walter's "truth" that an "alien does not have to appear in court . . . and has not appeared in court in the past" is wholly irrelevant. The alien

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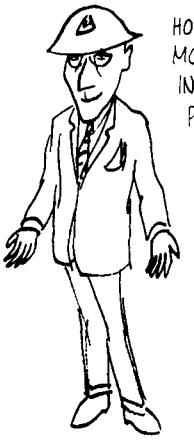

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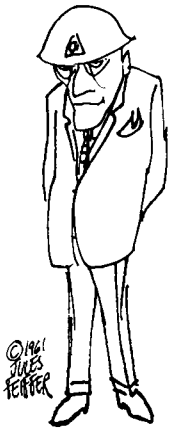

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need not appear physically, but his lawyer must, and this means hiring a lawyer a long way from home, or sending one and paying his expenses.

As for the anti-alien wall Mr. Walter's law erects against appeals being filed in the District of Columbia, his justification for this is that the Federal courts in the District of Columbia are "badly overloaded," thus permitting an alien to "buy" time by filing there in anticipation of a delay in docketing trial. The overcrowded docket is certainly not the aliens' fault, and as Representative Emanuel Celler of New York tried to tell Mr. Walter at his hearings, this is "visiting the sins of the few on the many" who never consider this delaying tactic. Moreover, the American Bar Association told Mr. Walter over three years ago that there had not been a single instance in the overcrowded District of Columbia courts in which the Government had taken expeditious action to end abusive delays. The ABA also noted that there are scores of antitrust cases over three years old and headed for even longer delays.

Mr. Walter's broad attempt to paint a picture of denial of democratic process in the Senate "through the objections of one single Senator raised in the Senate Committee on the Judiciary" is perhaps his most paradoxical "truth." The debate in "the other body" produced only one "nay" vote on the Senate floor – but it was a resounding one. On September 15, ten days before adjournment, Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi rose to present Mr. Walter's *fait accompli* to the Senate. It was a package bill, containing, as *The New Republic* reported, some worthwhile revisions of the immigration laws along with the Walter provisions restricting access to the courts by aliens. Had the Senate refused to accept Mr. Walter's package, the alien orphan adoption program would have collapsed, and next of kin of aliens already in the country would have had to wait for their quota number to come up to be reunited with their families. The bill was bound to pass.

But Senator Jacob K. Javits of New York rose in anger and said: "Although I recognize that my vote will be misunderstood by those who devotedly wish the bill to pass, I shall vote 'nay.' I shall vote 'nay' because I think it is high time some of us stood up on his hind legs and demonstrated by risking his political neck what is going on. . . . At the very end of the session there is brought in some sort of bill which satisfies some persons, does some things which need to be done, but does them on a 'take it or leave it' basis, on a basis of 'If you don't like this, you can't get anything else' . . ."

Senator Keating of New York also complained of the tendency of "certain members of the other body to dictate to both houses the details of immigration legislation." But as Mr. Walter says, "there was only one 'nay' heard on the floor of the Senate." It was a triumph for his Squeeze Play.

It was Congressman Francis Walter's bill or nothing – his bill or 18,000 more aliens excluded, his bill or thousands of foreign orphans and thousands of adoptive parents here at home denied the hope of a new life together. On this basis Mr. Walter's righteous implication of a Senate rooting for his bill and passing it after heroic travail against "one single Senator" cannot be taken seriously, although the infliction of new severities on aliens in his measure, unfortunately, can.

THE EDITORS

Correspondence

The New Republic *welcomes communications in regard to subjects of current interest. Those of 300 words or less are most suitable for publication.*

The Mind of James R. Newman

Sirs:

Can you perhaps explain to me the state of mind of James R. Newman?

For some time, it has seemed highly possible that the Soviets might have acquired or might be acquiring the nuclear striking power needed for a surprise attack on this country. I myself used to be convinced that this was the case, and I said as much in print. If this *were* the case, we know what our situation would be from Khrushchev's treatment of the Western European leaders. Having the needed striking power to "annihilate" (his words) Western Europe, his currently favorite topic of conversation with Western

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European visitors is the numbers of rockets he would have to expend in order to "wipe out" (his phrase) their countries.

Since it so long seemed possible that the Soviets were acquiring the power to annihilate this country as well as Western Europe, it ought to be good news, and it is certainly important news, that the available evidence indicates that they do not have this power. I do not know the nature, and do not wish to know the nature of the evidence. I only know that those who have been least given to underestimating Soviet military strength in the past, are convinced that the needed power is not yet in Khrushchev's hands. I further know that these same men are convinced that the downgrading of former estimates of Soviet nuclear striking power is indeed justified and in order.

This news when printed by me, seems to have reduced Mr. Newman (October 16) to alternating paroxysms of alarm, distress and suspicion. Why?

Joseph Alsop
Washington, D. C.

Surviving the Bomb

Sirs:

Dr. Grinspoon and Dr. Lieberman ("Escape from the Bomb," September 4) made a great deal of the tendency to "denial" on the part of all of us as a way of living under the threat of the bomb without suffering constant intolerable anxiety. The authors call attention to the failure of action by the individual, *i.e.*, to build a fallout shelter or to go to the Southern hemisphere, as evidence of this denial. There is another important way of dealing with the anxiety aroused by a threat to the individual's existence which is especially pertinent to the present crisis.

There is no doubt that the individual will sacrifice his life for a cause; he apparently will do so for the "right" cause as often as for the "wrong" one. The mental process is called identification. The individual faces death knowing his own life may be ending but feeling that he will live on in the child, in the nation or in the ideal with which he has identified himself. To a large extent, this process is responsible for what we call bravery, and we can assume the Russians and the Red Chinese will die for what they believe in as surely as we will.

Only when a man is convinced beyond doubt that not only will he die but that the cause for which he fights will be absolutely destroyed for all time does dying for a cause take on the aspect of meaninglessness. The proposition of Herman Kahn to the effect that a few of us can survive a nuclear war perpetuates a dangerous delusion in leading men to believe that the causes for which they fight can survive even if they don't. The authors present enough evidence to leave little doubt that any ideals worth fighting for would be utterly destroyed by a nuclear war.

There must be a fairly large number of people who by now neither deny the danger nor idealize the struggle but who simply believe that life after a nuclear war would contain no values worth living or dying for.

R. E. Reinert, M.D.
Topeka, Kansas

The Snow Spoof

Sirs:

Mr. Richard Robbins, in "The Bowles Affair" (October 9) has parodied C. P. Snow beautifully. The conspirational lunch, the striven for subtleties (everything "curious" or "in a curious way"), the talk about power, the "regular guy" slang in quotes, even the names he gives the parties involved: all add up to the best of parody.

This was excellent indirect criticism, and it had the effect on me of strengthening some thoughts I have of Snow as thinker and writer.

Charles E. Sheedy, C.S.C., Dean
University of Notre Dame

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ANOTHER "SPECIAL" FROM THE NATION

For October 28, *The Nation* announces another of its special features by Fred J. Cook, prize-winning author of "The FBI," "The CIA" and other exposes which have made magazine history in the last several years. The title is "JUGGERNAUT: the Warfare State," and its subject is the rise to dominance in the United States of that "military-industrial complex" against which President Eisenhower uttered so solemn a warning in his Farewell Address.

Thoughtful people will recognize at once the immense scope of the subject and its crucial importance to the times in which we live. For what is at stake is not only American democratic tradition, but also—as Mr. Cook shows in his characteristically dramatic, thoroughly documented fashion—the broader issue of war or peace in an age where war could mean the annihilation of civilization.

Like most of its predecessors, this special feature will take up an entire 64-page issue of *The Nation*. And, judging by its predecessors, it will be difficult to obtain on newsstands after the first few days of publication. "The CIA" not only sold out two out-size editions, but made a best-seller of the *Congressional Record* of August 8, this year, in which it had been reprinted and which sold out within three weeks.

We urge you, therefore, to order your copy of "JUGGERNAUT: the Warfare State," through the coupon (at left). Or you can get your copy FREE by ordering a six-month trial subscription to *The Nation*.

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